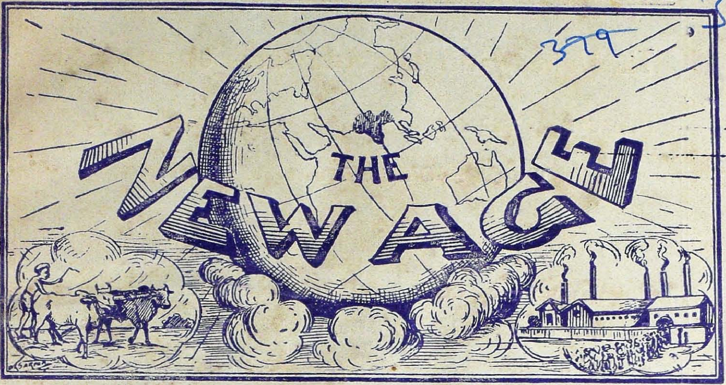
884

Managing Editor : **H. D. RAJAH.**



A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF ADVANCED THOUGHT

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS
17 MAY 1935

IN THIS ISSUE

Art on the threshold of Socialism

National week and our Duty.

Congress and i s Politics.

Fulminations of the Finance Member.

G—I—R—L ? (*A Short Story*)

VOL. I APRIL 1935 No. 11

Annual Subscription Re. 1. **Single Copy One Anna**

The United India Life Assurance Company, Ltd.

Head Office : Madras. **Established in 1906.**

Trustee :—Official Trustee of Madras.

Policies in force exceed ... **Rupees Two and a half Crores.**
Total Assets exceed ... **Rupees Sixty Lakhs.**
Annual income exceeds ... **Rupees Fourteen Lakhs.**

Among the distinguishing features of the Company are:—

Complete and Absolute Safety of Investments
Prompt and Equitable Settlement of Claims
Economical Management
Moderate Premiums Combined with Substantial Bonuses
Efficient, Sympathetic and Prompt Service to Policy-holders

Full information readily furnished on application to the Head Office or Branches or the representatives of the Company at the various places in our Country.

"United India Assurance Buildings",
Sembudoss Street,
MADRAS.

M. K. Srinivasan,
Managing Director.

THE NEW AGE

(Published Every Month)

Annual Subscription Re. 1. (*including postage*) **Single Copy One Anna**

17 MAY 1935 MADRAS

In response to the requests of our well wishers and with a view to make this Journal easily available to all rich and poor, we have gladly reduced its subscription to Re. 1 per year. As the 'New Age' is intended to serve society by spreading the gospel of a new social order we appeal to the public to take advantage of this concession and help the cause of the Journal by enlisting themselves in large numbers as subscribers.

All communications intended for publication should be addressed to the Editor. The Editor is not responsible for any statements or views expressed by contributors. The articles intended to be published in the magazine should reach the office before the 25th of every month. The articles should be legibly written on one side of the paper only. Typed manuscripts will be preferred. The pages of this journal are open for expression of advanced thoughts on political, social and economic problems.

Business notice:—All business correspondence and all moneys and cheques intended for the journal should be sent to the Manager.

For particulars regarding advertisement rates and sale of copies apply to the Manager.

Wanted: Capable young men to canvass Subscribers and advertisements for this Journal on decent salary or commission.

Apply to :

The Manager,
THE NEW AGE,
3, Kondi Chetti Street, Madras.

CONTENTS

		Pages
1.	Art on the threshold of Socialism	277
2.	The trade union movement in India	286
3.	The Indian National Congress and its Politics ...	289
4.	" G—I—R—L ?"	291
5.	Fulminations of the Finance Member	295
6.	The national week and our duty	298
7.	War clouds in the far east	300
8.	World Day by Day	307
9.	Notes and Comments ... ... Soviet and Monarchy—City By-election. The Karachi incident—The Finance Bill.	309

For ——

ALL BOOKS

EDUCATIONAL AND GENERAL

P. R. RAMA IYER & Co.,

ESPLANADE, MADRAS.

BOOKS *By* S. V. V.

Soap Bubbles, More Soap Bubbles,

Chaff and Grain

at Re. 1/- each.

NEW INDIA TRADING CO.,

(Y. M C. A. Buildings),

ESPLANADE : : MADRAS.

182724
00 008

While Travelling With Family,

Depend more upon home-made preparations than upon those of the vendors. Home-made Savouries, when they contain our

V-H-R
THE QUALITY ASAFOETIDA

are greatly improved in **flavour** and **taste.** They are preserved longer and are easily and delightfully **digestible.**

Obtainable everywhere and also at :—

VARJIWANDAS HIRJEE & Co.,

194, GOVINDAPPA NAICKEN STREET, MADRAS.

Telephone :	Telegrams :	H. O.	Branches :
3478.	SANTHOSHI.	BOMBAY.	KUMBAKONAM, MADURA.

AMRUTANJAN

BEST INDIAN PAIN BALM.

FOR

The "New Age"

and for all ages to come.

Sold by the million. **Sold Everywhere.**

The South India Co-operative Insurance Society, Ltd.

Telegrams "SICOIS" Head Office: MADRAS. Telephone 3738.
Post Box No. 182.

President:—V. RAMADAS PANTULU

THE

"SICOIS"

What it is and what it can do for you.

The South India Co-operative Insurance Society or it is more familiarly known as the "**SICOIS**" is the official Life Insurance Organisation of the Co-operative Movement of South India founded in 1932 and going Strong.

Apart from the fact that Insurance in some form or other is required by everyone, Co-operators and masses should support "**SICOIS**"—their own Insurance Organisation and by so doing they are sure of a square deal and a sound contract at a minimum cost.

To obtain maximum value in life assurance, you must have "**A SICOIS LIFE POLICY.**"

Low Premium rates and all kinds of plans.

For full particulars apply to:—**The Secretary,**
South India Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd.,
Post Box No. 182, Madras.

17 MAY 193
MADRAS

AWARDED GOLD MEDALS

USE

TILAK

ASAFOETIDA

BEST IN THE MARKET

SOLD EVERYWHERE

Gopaljee Champshi & Co.,

MADRAS, MADURA & KUMBAKONAM.

HEAD OFFICE:—BOMBAY.

INSURE WITH ——

ASIAN

An Indian Company of Standing

WHICH OFFERS

Security, Low Premiums

AND

Attractive Schemes

ASK FOR REPRESENTATION.

Branch Manager :—

The Asian Assurance Co., Ltd.

117, Armenian Street, Madras.

Guntur, Vizianagaram, Ernakulam & Mangalore.

The Star of India Industrial & General Assurance Co., Ltd.

MADRAS.

1933 A Record of Progress.

Business received	...	Rs.	16,21,000
Business completed	...	,,	11,53,600
Assets nearly	...	,,	2,00,000
Investment in Government securities	...	,,	95,700
Claims paid	...	,,	1,80,000

What the Actuary says :

"Absence of claims arising by death speaks of the efficient and judicious selection of Risks."

"Total expenses of management is considerably less than the allowance provided for by the Government of India in its rules."

GROW WITH THE GROWING COMPANY.

THE STAR OF INDIA ASSURANCE COMPANY, LTD.,
SEMBUDOSS STREET, MADRAS.

GOPAN'S
SRIPANOL
THE SPECIFIC FOR DYSPEPSIA
AND ALL
CHRONIC STOMACH TROUBLES

SUCH AS:

ATONIC DILATATION,
CARCINOMA OF THE STOMACH,
CHRONIC GASTRITIS,
COLITIS. GALL STONES,
ENLARGEMENT OF LIVER & SPLEEN
GASTRIC AND DUODENAL ULCER,
GASTRIC FLATULENCE,
NEURASTHENIC OR NERVOUS DYSPEPSIA
SPASM,
VOMITING.

Directions With phial:

Manufacturers:

TAMIL NADU AYURVEDIC PHARMACY, LTD
P.O.BOX 278 MADRAS.

FACTS THAT IMPRESS:
NEW BUSINESS
IN 1933-1934 EXCEEDS
Rs. 2,50,00,000
BONUS
PER YEAR, PER THOUSAND

ON ENDOWMENT Rs. 23 | ON WHOLE LIFE Rs. 20

BUSINESS POSITION.

Policies in Force	Over	Rs. 8,85,00,000
Life Fund	„	„ 1,50,00,000
Total Assets	„	„ 1,73,00,000
Claims Paid	„	„ 80 00,000
Surplus at last Valuation	„	„ 18,97,000

Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society, Limited,

General Manager:
N. R. SARKAR,
"Hindusthan Buildings,"
Surendranath Banerjee Road, Calcutta.

Branch Manager:
S. M. CHAUDHURI,
"Hindusthan Buildings,"
Armenian Street, Madras.

"A disposition to preserve what is established" so did Burke define Conservatism. Conservatism is the inseparable accident of sound progress.

The National Insurance Co., Ltd. established in **1906** is to-day nearing its thirtieth year. The Company has avowedly been conservative since the day of its inception, devoted exclusively to safe modern, first quality Life Insurance business. It has thus preserved at every stage of its expansion its strong financial position. It has earned and is holding the good will of its agent. The type of field-worker who believes in National's principles is uniformly successful in establishing himself permanently and profitably. Join its field force to-day and build up a business that will be a credit to you in later years.

Apply to:—**National Insurance Company, Limited,**

7, Council House Street, Calcutta.

The Organising Secretary,
Sub-Office,
171, New Street, Madura.

**Branch Secretary,
National Insurance Building,
362, China Bazaar Road,,
Esplanade, Madras.**

Mysore Chief Agency,
Arcot Srinivasachar Street,
Bangalore City.

Assets exceed .... **2½ Crores.**

Business in force exceeds ... **10 Crores.**

For Fire and Motor Accident Insurance,

Consult the associated:—

NATIONAL FIRE AND GENERAL INSURANCE CO., LTD.

THE NEW AGE

VOL. I APRIL 1935 NO. 11

ART ON THE THRESHOLD OF SOCIALISM

SOVIET ART AND ITS PLACE

Never before have such tremendous, diverse and passionate demands been made upon art as in our days. And I have in mind, not contracts with the fowl-raising industry on the literary service, its business requires, or the calls for expatiating the virtues of municipal improvement, or even the insistent campaigns of the *Literary Gazette*—although we have enough registered men of letters to serve even these needs more efficiently and skilfully than was the case previously. But anyone whose ear has not been trampled by a bear can hear the more powerful, more authoritative voices of modernity. In stating the problems of art today it is, to my mind, necessary to take into account the fact, now finally clear to everyone that the time of arrival of the country to a full blossoming of socialism can be measured in terms of two to three five-year periods. Even granting some delay on account of a period of military struggle with the imperialist offensive, the country, in its operative plans, decides and cannot help but decide, from such a set time limit.

For art the time limit is even shorter. The nature and purpose of higher, leading artistic work have always been and are such that, while feeding upon the past and present—in its ideological structure, aims and cravings—it lives in the future.

The place of Soviet art is not in the rear guard but in the advance posts, more accurately—in the scouting squads of the historic movement. But even this analogy is conditional. No intervals between the regiment of art and the army of life in motion can be tolerated. The solution lies in this: while a disciplined and humble rank-and-filer in this army, the Soviet artist must realize, constantly feel himself and his work on the threshold of socialism.

But what is socialism? We who live in the thirties of this century, citizens of the Soviet Union, may be proud of the fact that we hear this word many times a day in its real applied significance. But, do we grasp its meaning sufficiently, fully, in its manifold plastic significance? Socialism. . . There are immutable economic definitions of this word that everyone knows. On these our political and economic arrangements are based. But these definitions in

themselves do not yet give any conception of socialist society in all the multiplicity of its phases.

If one were to circulate a questionaire among some thousands of workers, collective farmers, Communist Party members, Young Communists, on the subject: How do you understand and represent socialism to yourself, what do you expect of it for yourself and your comrades?—we could hardly expect to receive many full, exhaustive replies. In the depths of our democracy live mighty hopes born of ages of class oppression, awakened by Marxist education—hopes that are the mainspring of the heroic struggle for the new social order—through all privation and sacrifice. But taken separately in their personal expressions, these hopes are often too vague, inconcrete or onesided; there are also more vulgar expectations. N. Sarudin is right when he says in his novel: "Some imagine socialism a sort of department store without any queues in 1925." And yet we, the generation now living, are the ones that must build, furnish and decorate the edifice of socialism, live in it. I do not, of course, desire to propound my answer to the question put. And it is not a matter of formulation, even on ten pages. The answer will be given collectively by the conscious builders as the result of their practical activities, their daily labor, union of a million wills, ideas, aims. But our art must give the answer first by the entire weight of its creations.

Some may smile: are we all to write Utopias? Of course not. The time of the great Utopias is past. Now we should probably get no more than colored pictures illustrating the projects of the State Planning Commission. I have in mind something broader. I have in mind from work to work, from today and throughout the coming ten years, to take part in the gradual development and propaganda of the synthetized cultural ideal of our time. The purpose of art, as I understand it, is to fill with emotion, joy, live human content all the material shells and organizational forms of the new society that are coming into being today. Art must be the seething source out of the vapors of which the image of socialist man will rise more and more clearly in all the diversity of character, ideas, passions with which the hills and dales of our future will be peopled.

The Party leaders call upon us writers to be more forward looking in our artistic thought, wait for our word, our help in their political prognoses. What is the field of life, the great section of it in which our art can be of greatets assistance?

I shall take the liberty of quoting one of my own unpublished essays: "On Art and the Man of the Future," written back in 1929. The questions are put, in that article with a good deal of naivete, partly on purpose, partly, as I can see when I read it now, involuntarily. But perhaps it was for this very reason that I succeeded in bringing out one important problem rather simply and decisively. It reads:

"But with what will our generation set foot on the soil of the promised land conquered so laboriously and with such sacrifice, how will it cross its borders? We shall receive the answer that it is preparing for that moment numerous glass and concrete buildings with many shining and clever machines, many millions of acres of rich, collectively worked soil out of which warmth, blue light, food and clothing for all the living will stream forth in a mighty river of plenty. And there will be more and it will be better than there ever was in the world before, and it will all belong to all. It is also building green cities—gardens, hospitals and children's homes with inlaid floors, spotlessly clean like ice, aerial machines with which to cover tremendous distances in few hours and see them from above,

universities and libraries under whose free cool vaulted roofs everyone is welcome. And all the multitudes of man will come to this land literate, sober, washed, labor-loving, having learned to take care of their well-knit bodies—free from the low instincts of private property, race hatred, family intrigue. Workers will enter without leaden pallor of face and inflamed eyes, earth workers that have lost the savege aspect, bloody callouses and mole vision; scientists that have lost their slavelike cowardice of thought and softness of muscle; women that have forgotten the all absorbing cares of the home world, the despair of homeless motherhood, the rude rule of owner-master. They will all be met by a life free and plenteous, clean and permeated by organization and thought.

All for What Kind of a Man?

How much of everything! we exclaim viewing our future. That's what humanity has hungered for hundreds of years, that is what they have fought for, suffered for, and for what the best have died! How good, how marvelous!

And in another minute, accustomed by all our life to be dissatisfied, having grown used to the marvelous we shall ask impatiently and childlike : and what else, what else is coming? And what will happen then after they have come in and taken their places?

Some voice, tired of the strain, will answer nervously: what's your hurry? Help us first to get all this that we have said and then we'll see about the rest. Only don't be in the way, put useless questions. And say, what else do you want, anyway?

Then we shall declare: we want to know what kind of man will be the inhabitant of this promised land?

We know that he will be healthy in body and sound of mind, that he will think straight and work well. But will he be happy, gay, capable of emotion, enthusiasm, inner suffering which enriches the soul? Yes, he will be like that—but what will his happiness, gayety, enthusiasm, suffering consist of? What will be his relation to the people he will meet, to his neighbours at work, to the woman he will love? Will he be tender, kind, responsive, daring, true in friendship, determined, witty and individualized, different from the others? How will he sense the space of the universe, time, the cosmos, his own existence, the approach of death? Will he retain the will to change himself and the world around him, to aim at distant, faintly flickering ends? What will he feel with respect to humanity, with respect to all historical epochs, to our time, to the future?

How will he conceive and feel his surroundings—sunlight, the sky, day and night, the sea, the woods, ice and then the pavement, machines, aeroplanes? Will he live in art, be receptive to it, create it, delight in it, weep, yearn for entirely unexplainable actions and if so, what kind of art will it be?

And finally, the most important and exhaustive, will he retain his richness and refinement of soul, the ability to respond with it to most diverse, minute contacts with the surrounding world, catch within himself and in this world every slight rustle, every sound, all the subconscious and dream like motions, hear the tremors of his life and the life of the people near him, the surrounding human mass, all of humanity?

And when we shall have announced all these strange questions about the future, qestions we could multiply by many others of importance to us, the same tired voice will ask mistrustingly: tell me, what is it all for?

We shall answer firmly: so that human relations will be on a high plane and so that man having won the world shall not lose himself.

Then the tired voice will say: in order to answer all those questions pray

write your own Utopian novel; as far, however, as I understand your questions they can all be reduced to two: the problem of conditions of life under socialism and the problem of individual psychology then. But, why bother your head about them when the answer is so simple: new production relations determine new conditions of life and the corresponding psychological development. Existence determines consciousness. That's all there's to it!

But here we shall get angry and shout :

And since when does mankind, and especially its most restless and farseeing class, possessing the keenest and most exact instruments of knowledge the most powerful weapons for acting upon the world about, since when does it let life go its own way, change of itself? Must it not take matters in hand, study, predetermine and direct, merge in feeling, thought and desire with everything progressive, remove everything that interferes, that is harmful? Or is all that we said here immaterial, unnecessary? Isn't it time now to try at least to guess, forecast the human relations of the future, the inner world of the man of the future?—not for the sake of satisfying an idle curiosity and a playful imagination but solely for the purpose of helping along the establishment of such relations and such a world?"

I think these principles have not only remained true today but the problem has grown more acute because of that stupendous move forward towards the borderland of socialism which the country has seen during the last three years.

The Party has set a concrete task: in the course of the second five year period to prepare for the transition to a classless society. Do we workers in literature realize the magnitude and complexity of this prospect?

Literature and Change

Let us recall the period of the governmental accession of capitalism, at the time of the Great French Revolution. The change from the feudal system to the capitalist had been in preparation for at least a hundred years, and the preparations were made not only in the sphere of politics, philosophy, the social sciences but also in those of the most intimate sensations, in the world of family relations, friendship, love—all based on new spiritual ties of the individual to society. The proletariat, now in the process of creation of the classless society has at its disposal a more powerful machinery of thought and knowledge. And the philosophical method at its disposal is the most correct and most powerful in the history of mankind. All the accumulated knowledge of nineteenth and twentieth century science is at its service, and it has its own academy, its state planning organization, its publishing houses and press. But what does all this powerful machinery do? It serves: (1) The building of the economic and organizational forms of the new society; (2) the destruction, review and negation of old cultural values; (3) the slow, painstaking nursing and accumulation of new ideas, principles—mainly in the field of sociology ond in the exact and applied sciences, and secondarily in the philosophic field. But neither the academy nor the planning organization nor any scientific or professional organization is capable of working out by itself a sort of synthetized cultural heaven, some kind of all-penetrating spiritual yeast on which to raise the style and spirit of the epoch, its morals and esthetics, its gayety, love of life, song—all that is not taught at school, not discussed in literary circles but breathed in as if from the air or perhaps from a good and wise father in a revelation to his young son during a happy moment.

Art, wise, sensitive, all seeing art

should here step into its own inherited rights.

This is its business.

But where is one to seek this cultural ideal? It will not fall down from the skies. I do not wish to be misunderstood as calling for the cooking up of anything.

The world of socialist nature and relations is first of all bound to be too rich and complete to admit of any kind of standard—richer and more manifoldly complex than any previous era. No manequins, prescribed behavior, and catechisms for the soul! All this would be too ridiculous and squalid. The cultural ideal of the epoch must be gotten, even if only a-teaspoonful at a time from the ocean of life, from previous eras, transfusing the nobler dreams of mankind out of testaments, hints, the lives of the creators of Marxism and mostly, and before everything from the present active spiritual treasures dissolved in the recesses of the masses of the people.

An intense openminded attention to present day life in all its implications, to study it laboriously, by investigation, by reliving it—this is the foremost task of the Soviet artist.

The new generation has taken its place at all the levers of the country. We, the socalled "young" writers—people about thirty years old, find our friends and acquaintances of the same age everywhere, they have finished their personal preparatory work—now they are foremen, engineers, secretaries of district Party committess, Red professors. They have completed their course of social maturity faster than we, artists. Wherever you look—everywhere the most original characters, face, situations that are unique. The country is seething with novelty—luck, disaster, success, catastrophes that have no precedents, that have never been described in any literature. The new world, already established, hungers for self knowledge. But the generation of builders of socialism, that knows its job very well, continuously studies its methods, knows itself very little. Our conceptions of ourselves—of the Pary, of the working class, of youth—are too general, vague, schematic.

The serious and sensitive artist senses this outcry, this call to understand life in all its novelty, feels it with all his senses, with his skin, so to say. Besides being conscious of the objective importance and urgency of this, the artist feels: life now is most interesting, most charming and it is passing, changing, it is not going to be repeated—so I must catch it, fix it, write it down so that it shall stay alive! All this taken together compels the construction of ideological systems in works directed in perspective to the socialist future—primarily based on contemporary material: the revolutionary fifteen years and particularly the last years of reconstruction. The cognition of living reality and the developing of cultural ideals of the time—these two processes are inseparable, they feed and supplement each other. The song of the present and the song of the future must blend into one.

Yes, but cognitive work on the part of art-that's only the half of it. What is more terrible for us is indifferent, phlegmatic art, lifeless pictures of life, socalled "reflections," gray "large canvases." The question is not of talent. Talented work may also be cold, soulless, immobile. Now more than ever are needed passionate, active works, tendencious in the best sense of the term.

Thousands of consciousnesses awaken in the country daily and begin social action, welding their fate with it. Not all the problems of life can be put on the agenda of meetings, be discussed at conferences: there is no time. In the depths of the city, village, university, construction job, numerous socalled "personal" questions, conflicts, shocks

occur. They cannot be viewed as strictly personal dramas. These are all individual waves of the tempest tossed sea of new social relations. From books, of art, the answer is expected to the question : how is one to live—how love, how work, how and what to hate. But again, not didactics, not moralizing and precepts are wanted. Neither is art medical consulation to the pregnant. But we must have it wiser, more sympathetic, more feeling. It must answer the vital questions of contemporaneity with all its spirit, with its entire ideal atmosphere, with its entire imaginative fabric.

Is everybody with us settled, rounded, is everything o.k. in our young world, in our proletarian, revolutionary set of relations?

The Function of Art

I shall only bring one instance out of my observations. Here is a case I came across this summer, in August, at a collective farm in the village of Maximkovo, of the Vjasma Region. The kolkhoz was very much behind in the harvesting of its flax. The Regional organizations attempt to come to their assistance. One day late in the evening a tow-brigade[1] consisting of some thirty workers from a neighboring leather factory show up. Tomorrow is their day off at the factory and so they will help harvest the flax. Today they had done their day's work at the factory and marched miles on foot to get to the village. But they come gaily, with flags and an accordion. Suddenly something goes wrong—mismanagement on the part of the kolkhoz management; someone was to have let them know when the workers came and failed to do so. And they were supposed to prepare bread and milk for the guests, prepare lodgings for them at a barn. Nothing was prepared. Immediately there is a quarrel. On one side of the table sits one of the Board of Managers, a lame fellow with crutches, by the way—a poor farmer, had been a freight conductor for sixteen years and frozen his feet off; on the other side of the table sits the brigade leader. And they are at it hammer and tongs—swearing and cussing at each other. They gradually get heated: the worker calls the manager a "kulak mouth piece and then a "kulak" and then altogether a "wrecker"; while the other comes back with "bureaucrat" and "sponger," stamping his crutches. The hut is full of people—workers, collective farmers and these also pitch in. Then, of course, the bread and milk arrive, the quarrel subsides and all leave in ill humor : the workers to the barn, the peasants, home.

What was the result ? The political socio-economical background of the fact is an excellent one, unthinkable in any other country : factory workers came to help the village, came voluntarily, to work for it gratuitously. And instead of a welcome—quarrels and curses on both sides.

A trifle, it may be said, nothing terrible. Of course there is nothing terrible. But it would have been much better otherwise : the political effect of the coming of the workers' brigade would have been better if the personal contact of the two social forces had been different.

All these personal contacts—they are exactly the sphere of influence of art. Again, of course, it must not turn into a school of good nature. I am not at all prepared to propose the pouring of unction on all the dents and scratches produced by the daily crush. Heaven save us from a special campaign of dissemination of brotherly love and social competition in intraclass tendernesses.

1 A tow brigade is one that helps another which has fallen behind. The term originates from the tow-boat.—*Tr.*

Tremendous stores of good nature, solidarity and comradeship are latent in the masses of the peopole, in the working class and in the Communist Party, the Bolshevik underground work, the years of civil war are full of examples of that. Our class is the noblest of all classes even if we are to judge not only from its historic mission but by the everyday relations that exist within it. But who will say that this is enough —that this is socialist manners? Then there would be no reason for going ahead with the building of socialism. And the trouble is not with material want, life's maladjustments, although these are primary factors. And one cannot rely on spontaneity here. Our human masses are beginning to live closer and closer together, more socially, with more solidarity; take our agricultural and other communes, artels, common quarters—everywhere, roughly speaking, the friction surface is increasing. Someone must think about that.

Art is a powerful means of communication, contact, drawing together. It must heighten the significance, the value of each unit of our society, of every member of the socialist community. This is the surest way of most rapidly getting rid of the poison, the contagion of the old class society.

Will our art be the misericordious, toothless, pacifist? No, no and no! To live with all creative gravitation in socialism, see it before oneself always—this does not mean to go away from the world of today, from the cruel, unretreating battle. No, let's have harsh opinions, intolerance, frankness, grim selection of ideas and feelings.

They once wanted to cross the names of our group out of literary annals for only one word; "humanism." We ourselves had never thought of this as Christian all-forgivness, professorial liberalism, class reconcilation. We thus named among ourselves that art philosophy which opened up before us the full blooded man in command of a full arsenal of feeling, including the feeling of social hatred. Historically we harked back to the Italian Renaissance, to old Flanders—through Till Eulenspiegel, to old Burgundy—through Colas Bregnon—all periods, as is well known, by no means vegetarian. We were not understood, it was preferred not to understand us. Very well, we admit we took an inappropriate term, because man—and so much the more a public organization—is responsible not only for what he says but also for how he is understood.

Some of our Dangers.

But I must emphasize with particular insistence: our art must be militant. It must fight against all obstacles on the way for revolution, against the forces of inertia, cowardice, quietism, wariness, apathy, which cling like mollusks at the keel of the vessel and hamper its forward motion. But also let the Soviet artist hate, not by request, but by himself, out of his own heart, not abstractly, rhetorically, but in living images thrown in his way by life.

Without attempting to list distant enemies, I shall mention the inimical forces that are closer to our spheres.

This is, first of all, the thing we call in our circles civilizationism—still the same bourgeois "Americanism," trying to imitate "European" clique and lustre, the cult of "pure work," technical armor, tension of will without any regard for their social direction and inspiration. These money maker tendencies are accompanied by dislike of Bolshevik underground work, the civil war, everything that has national Russian color to any extent, that in any way follows from our countries past within its own geographical borders.

These tendencies exist subsurface in journalistic-literary and technical-intelligentsia circles. Their proponents never especially publicly, unburden,

themselves of their complex ideas. They find it easy to hide under the mask of industrializers, concocting essays on achievements and frequently doing good work in their particular line. These tendencies exist in a dispersed manner, in their several separate elements, but they exist—it is not hard to put your finger on them and socialist art will have to cross arms with them before long.

This is accompanied by a more frequent phenomenon of a purely literary nature, but also having its deep social roots. I have in mind literary snobbery: the cool flaunting of well turned phrases, clever, but trivial aphorisms, flashy metaphors—formal "innovation," esthetized over-complexity, writing "a la Proust," "a la Joyce," "a la Dos Passos," without any serious penetration into these really interesting seekings but solely to follow the fashion and delude public opinion.

This kind of snobbery finds support with editors and publishers; some editors and critics are strongly attracted lately by the tart and spicy, trying to show that they also know a thing or two, that they also know something of the "specifics of art," they tend to encourage all these tricks ahd "subtleties," especially since our snobs have learned to cover with their esthetic varnish not only bouquets and summer villas but even the flour mill and, if you please, steel furnaces and competition and anything your heart desires. Their success is partly due to the general weariness with the tons of boring and fully self-satisfied "reflecting" trash we have been swamped with the past two years.

I note only these two phenomena, not because there are no others just as disgusting and harmful, but because the limited space of this article doesn't permit of mentioning all the others that are the subject of discussion in the press and at meetings. These two tendencies have remained unnoticed and have not been discussed. There is no doubt—they are carried into our literature by the wind from the right. Wingless civilizationism and frigid metropolitan snobbery—their deathly, obliterating breaths are intolerable to a forward art, particularly now that time is putting such majestic and responsible tasks before it.

Our Guides

I feel compelled to call two names that may serve as symbols of a different, a beautiful tendency in fine literature. Two names that have earned their merits before the proletarian revolution differently but that are together bent towards its socialist future. These names are Maxim Gorky and Romain Rolland.

The first name we have surrounded with the respect and honor due him, although the attention paid to the main thing that makes Gorky such a tremendous educational force—his literary work—is, it seems to me entirely insufficient, especially (strange as it seem) in literary circles.

The name of Rolland lives in our public consciousness almost exclusively on cccount of its political aureole: friend of the Soviet Union, defender of its world truth and honor, passionate unmasker of all the crimes of imperialism. Only the first complete edition of his works in Russian is beginning to unfold, unfortunately piecemeal as it appears, the tremendous spiritual treasure, the untold riches this mine holds for our cultural reduction furnaces of the time. With all the necessary corrections due to the foreignness of the social and philosophical sources that so far fed the work of Rolland, he is, without a doubt, the nearest and most akin to us of all that old Europe has brought our Communist generation, in style, in spirit and in evaluation of the esthetic heritage of past ages.

It is impossible, in this limited space, to speak adequately of *Jean Christophe,*

the best, in my opinion, the most significant book of the twentieth century. I must mention however, the cycle of dramatic works: Dramas of Revolution. There is what the Soviet artist that seriously considers his calling should immerse himself in—and not in the bawdy tales of post war Parisian gourmets. He will not find it difficult to separate all that comes from Rolland—the individualist, from his sympathies to the crushed and driven Gironde, from his historical objectivity joining in friendly handclasp the royalist and Jacobin emigree. What then will remain?

There will remain the most lucid works, written about the stormy, driving material of the revolutionary era. There will remain the vivid feeling rare in literature, of the motion of tremendous strata in history, the bold outlines of historical figures, the characters molded by genius, the rough, flaming, beautiful language of popular spectacles. There will remain, perhaps the most important: the majesty and truth of a young class, expressed not only in the imagery of pure and high moral natures but even in the imagery of the self-loving, limited envious meat venders and brutal soldiery.

How dim the first timid ventures of our authors grew before these fiery dramas! But the best of them, the most farseeing, will not be daunted by the discrepancy between their own humble achievements and the models of the great master. On the contrary, the young brave artist will only be spurred on to greater creative daring by such a comparison. There is no dearth of talent. There must only be a heightening of the consciousness, of the responsibility our literature carries before the world. There must arise a desire for socialist competition with the giants of art construction.

Gorky and Rolland. . .

Their heroic work is done before our eyes. By their example it is easy to verify the truth of the following simple principles:

Art must be a matter of the entire life of the artist and not that of a profession, dragged among the editors.

Democracy of creation—is a higher triumph; catering to the tastes of the metropolitan Bohemia—is hopeless.

Deep artistic cognition of contemporaneity is more valuable than superficial apologetics.

The phenomena of life should be viewed in three dimensions and not as surfaces.

One can teach without being didactic, and educate without coaching.

The revolutionary writer must know the past, love the present and think of the future.

Kataev in International Literature.

The New Age Annual will be published in May.
Special Articles and special Attractions.
A Rare Opportunity for Advertisers.
Send for Rates now.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By

Cyrius

In a recent statement issued to the press by some of the trade union workers of Bombay, they say, "the split in the Indian Trade Union movement are due on the one hand to a failure to recognise and act according to the basic principles of Trade Union movement and on the other hand to a mixing of the trade union with a political party and a consequent mechanical transference of all political differences to the trade union field."

The above statement requires a close analysis. Let us see what are the basic principles of the Trade Union movement. The basic principles of Trade Union movement vary according to those who enunciate them eg., the labour at Ahmedabad is essentially controlled by Gandian forces and as such the trade union activity of Ahmedabad is based on collaboration of the capitalists or the employers of labour and the labourers. It would be very hard—nay impossible—for the leaders to give up their allegiance to the theory of mutual co-operation which is the very negation of the theory of class struggle. Therefore the conception of the trade union movement itself is according to the bent of mind of people who are in the labour field and guide the labour movement. In a recent dispute between the Ahmedabad mill-owners and the labourers, arbitration was resorted to by the parties and the preponderating influence of Gandhi was exercised to avert a class struggle or a serious strike. In a letter to the labourers of Ahmedabad after the settlement, Gandhiji wrote, "I have no doubt that the wage cut to which I have agreed on your behalf is in your own interest." To an ordinary man who can only calculate the profit or gain according to the amount he receives in his hands, this statement of Gandhiji would seem fantastic, but it has equally a force which some will not fail to notice. Gandhiji might have anticipated the catastrophe that might befall the labourers if they struck work and on account of the superior organisation and the command of means, the mill owners of Ahmedabad would have inflicted a serious loss on the labourers if they struck work and the workers would be forced to surrender on worse terms due to starvation. Looked from this perspective, the statement of Gandhiji might seem true; but to a trade unionist subscribing to the theory of class war and class struggle, the action of Gandhiji is nothing but a gross betrayal of the interest of the working class. He will demand that the workers should not be allowed to agree for the reduction of the wages and if the capitalists insist upon wage reduction, at once a strike must be declared and the issue fought out. A strike is a very useful and effective weapon, if it could be used with success. If the workers are reduced to abject poverty, without resources to maintain a strike, then the result is utter demoralisation and the consequent breaking of the union. We need not go far to look to the history of such results. The M.S.M. Railway Union declared a strike against retrenchment under the leadership of Jamnadas Mehta and V. V. Giri. Though there are definite conflicting views with regard to the conduct of the strike, one need only to look to the present plight of the M. S. M. Railway union which was once a formidable

Union. In the existing circumstances one can safely predict that it will take years before it can again come to life.

The object of the above illustrations was to show that the principles of the trade union movement vary according to the position and circumstances of the labourers and their leaders. Even if there is justifiable ground for a strike, without resources to continue it, one should not attempt to declare it. The workers' interest ought to be predominant and the leadership, moderate, or extreme can continue only when something positive is achieved for the workers.

If class struggle is the principle on which the trade union movement is to be based, it at once rules out the possibility of unity being achieved in the trade union movement with the help of the trade union leaders who believe in class collaboration. It is an admitted fact that any attempt at unity of diverse elements will be only futile and if at all any unity is reached it will be based on the maximum and the minimum concessions of two extremes. This well-recognised principle, though understood by all, will not be liked by the genuine leaders of progressive movements. They will refuse to be parties at compromises and surrenders and if they wage any struggle at all, it can only either end in victory or in defeat. Even if a partial concession is achieved in the course of a struggle that achievement is a victory of those who launched the struggle. The morale of the movement will be kept up and that will be an incentive for a future better struggle. Unity can be brought about only by those who think alike on definite issues in the trade union movement and not by mere attempts to get together, labour henchmen of imperialism, labour leaders in capitalists' employ, socialists and communists. This hotch-potch unity in the Trade Union movement will only be similar to the attempts at unity on communal matters conducted by the upper classes in India in order to wrest more political concessions from Imperialism at the expense of the masses who are the all round victims of all these exploitations.

Now let us consider what is the Trade Union movement. The Trade Union movement is a movement intended to organise the workers employed in various trades or industries in order to make them united for the purpose of defending their interests. This at once raises an issue as to what is their 'interest.' The Trade Union movement is intended for the organisation of workers who are employed by those who have the power of paying the wages of those whom they employ. The workers have sold themselves for the wages and the interest of the workers become their interest in wages. If the wages are reduced or if more work is demanded of their workers than what he actually first agreed to do, his interest is affected. If in the course of his work, he meets with any accident or if he is disabled from working, his future is barred and his interest is affected. On account of superior organisation and more economic management if his service is dispensed with, his interest is affected. Thus we see that the interest of the worker is affected from the moment he goes to serve under some employee till he is dead or the employer ceases to employ him. If the Trade Union movement is construed as a movement to protect the worker only in this sense, then the work and the function of the movement is to struggle under the existing system and 'defend' the interest of the worker willingly given by the employer himself. This at once concedes the right of one group of people employing another and the work of the trade union movement is confined to only defending such established right. But on the other hand, the Trade Union movement, visualised as a movement intended to secure the worker all power to himself so that

he is not a wage slave but he works in order to contribute for the growth of a classless society is a different thing. This attitude cannot be kept up if one does not subscribe to politics ; for politics are the very essence of man's existence. If any nation rules over another it is politics. If any group struggles to come into power it is politics. If any group is defeated in its attempt to get power it is politics. Therefore politics are the essential ingredients for the civilized or barbarous existence of human beings. The nature of politics also differs with the nature of people. Trade Union movement or as a matter of fact any movement cannot divorce politics from its course. If the movement is controlled by Moderates, the movement has moderate politics—if by progressivists, progressive politics and so on.

If a particular group of people is wedded to a kind of political philosophy, to it, the rest are anathema and against its interest. It will be prejudiced against the movements of the others and will resist them. The group in power will try to maintain itself and keep its position safe. It will adopt measures to smash the opposing forces and even succeed in annihilating the opposition. But if the opposing force is more formidable and cannot be overcome or checked by the group in power, then only the opposing force overthrows the existing group and seizes power. This depends upon the will, determination and unity of the group that opposes and also the support it derives from the general mass in whose interest it works. No power on earth, revolutionary or reactionary will succeed to establish itself if it has not the backing of the mass of people or if it has not the necessary resources to bully the masses into submission. History bears ample testimony to these facts and no movement has succeeded in the world except on the above basis.

Therefore the trade union movement is essentially political. Its political outlook is the political outlook of those who control it. If the movement is led by moderates it aims at only class collaboration without attempting to chang the fundamentals of social relationship. If it is controlled and guided by the progressivists, it aims at securing the full benefits of the movement as visualised by the progressivists. Therefore there is no meaning in telling that the mixing of the trade union with a political party transfers the political differences also in the trade union field. The prejudices are inherent and you can't avoid them. The aim of the Trade Union movement ought to be to get power for the mass of humanity who are today under the heel of a few. With this, as its aim and objective, the trade union leaders should be able to chalk out a programme of work which if followed and pushed through faithfully, will surely secure the freedom of the worker-political and therefore economic so that the bulk of humanity, the workers of the soil and the workers in factories will toil not for others but for themselves and will be the owners of what they produce. Will the trade union movement be guided to this channel?

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND ITS POLITICS.

By V. Rangaswamy Iyengar.

The politics of the Congress is based on the liberal school of thought of the last century. This school gave rise to political liberalism as well as to economic liberalism. The former was typified in the Parliamentary form of government while the latter was materialised into the capitlalist system of industry.

The after - War situation has shewn that this form of government has ceased to function. The cause of it is not far to seek. The fathers of the American constitution hoped that the Parliamentary democracy would be able to express the Sovereignty of the people effectively. But capitalism created an environment, economic and social, which made Parliamentary democracy a formal one, in that masses were denied self expression and 'National' government became the expression of the capitalists in each country in Europe and America. Further, economic rivalries, among these groups, resulted in the Great War and the arrangements provided by the peace treaty in respect of payments of war dues caused untold miseries to every section of the people both in the creditor and debtor countries alike and brought to the front, forces antagonistic to capitalism. The situation had become uncontrollable and the chief executive in all lands, had to assume control of the National Economy and regulate it in the public interest as far as possible and this control took off the functions of Parliament.

The form of government for the future depends, upon the type of social order which will emerge ultimately. Fasisct or socialist state is viewed as an alternative to the capitalist order.

The British Labour party, has, for its goal, socialist state and is contemplating radical changes in the constitution, with this object in view.

In these circumstances, there is no meaning on the part of the Congress or any other political body thinking in terms of the Parliamentary form of government which has become "obsolete"

Mr. George Lansbury, the leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, is asking the Indians to work out a scheme well adapted to the needs of India. But he lays emphasis on one point. He wants emancipation for the Indian masses from the bondage of landlordism and capitalism, foreign or indigenous.

The adoption of the scheme of Socialist or Co-operative Common Wealth of Mr. and Mrs. Webb with modifications suited to the Indian conditions will vest the control of all instruments of production in the hands of the state which will be the expression of the consumers and citizens and this will secure for the masses, complete emancipation from landlordism as well as from

capitalism. This will involve no risk either to landlords or to capitalists. As in the west, the, zemindary ryots, could be helped with loans by the state to purchase the rights of the landlords and the loans advanced could be made returnable in 50 or more annual instalments. The agricultural incomes would be subject to incometax and those incomes which fall below the taxable minimum will be exempt from taxation.

In the scheme the position of capitalists will be this: they will have their remunerations fixed and the profit earned by them will be gradually eliminiated.

The Congress as well as any other political body will do well to give its best consideration to the scheme. If the congress adopts the goal of Co-operative Commonwealth which is considered as a halfway house to Socialism it could direct its activities in two directions. The existing political machinery could be utilised for effecting such piece-meal reforms as will be conducive to the evolution of the new social order and the economic programme for the building up of an industrial system envisaged in the scheme of Mr. and Mrs. Webb, could be carried out by voluntary efforts. There are immense possibilities for voluntary service even in the existing conditions hard as they are.

The scheme will afford opportunities in myriads of ways for the work of reconstruction through these bodies.—Local and Municipal bodies, co-operative agencies and all associations of producers and workers, in the directions indicated, will lend to release man-power in the masses including Harijans and it will find expression in multifarious arts and industries.

There will be no need for external help of any kind, if the units be carried on sound lines of the west.

What is wanted is a well thought out national plan for carrying the work of reconstruction in various directions. The work of reconstruction will build up community of interest and give an unceremonious burial to communalism that disintegrates and disfigures Indian National life.

In this connection attention could be drawn to the two notable achievements of rural co-operation in the province of the Punjab.

The co-operative department have organised two different kinds of societies. Societies for the consolidation of small holdings and societies for the settlement of disputes by Arbitration. The working of these societies shows that Hindu-Moslem unity, elevation of the depressed classes and other economic or social problems that confront India today could be satisfactorily solved through co-operative agencies. Tactful guidance of these bodies at the outset is sure to create corporate consciousness which will produce atmosphere favourable for joint action in all possible ways, and have the way for a robust national life.

The National Congress should get out of its present environment and work for the realization of the goal of co-operative commonwealth, and this scheme will also secure the sympathy and support of the Labour Party.

A Short Story.

"G-I-R-L?"

By "Nacha"

"What is it, boy or girl ?" asked Prem Prasad eagerly, as if unable to control his anxiety about the result.

During all the preceding days he had been on tip-toes, consumed by expectation. He had consulted an astrologer who, whatever his knowledge of the science in which he professed to deal, was a marvellous psychologist. He could understand after a few minutes' talk with Prem, the oppressive uncertainty that had led him to seek the aid of a soothsayer. He knew by experience and by an uncanny knack of seeing through his clients' minds that when a man wanted to know the sex of his unborn child, he must be having at least half-a-dozen daughters on hand. Alias, why should any one seek to know the inevitable and the unalterable? And Jnana Sastry (that's the name of the astrologer) knew it. He gave the answer that would most humour Prem Prasad. After a good deal of calculation (some of the processes of which were worked out rather audibly and seemed to indicate that all the planets were about to come crashing to the earth) he declared that Prem Prasad was only going to have a boy this time. The gods had willed it and it would be so. Prem Prasad's joy was boundless. In a fit of ungovernable generosity he parted with a five-rupee-note in return for what was, after all, a doubtful prediction.

But that did not end his fears. In fact, his expectancy grew as the day of delivery approached nearer. If, of course, Jnana Sastry's prognostication were infallible, it would be silly to continue cherishing groundless apprehensions.

Was he, however, infallible? Ninety-nine out of a hundred of these astrologers, Prem knew, were arrant liars. As for the hundredth, one rarely met him in life. There was also the likelihood of Jnana Sastry having gone wrong in his calculations. He had, no doubt, advertised that he had "seen more horoscopes than all the astrologers in India put together." And he had gone on making inexplicable and mystifying permutations of the sun and the moon and Mars and Venus (in their Sanskirt equivalents) for nearly half-an-hour. Could he have erred, the great Jnana Sastry? Possibly not. Further, to verify his result, the Sastry had asked Prem to give the name of a flower and he had given the 'Rose.' Jnana Sastry worked out furiously again on the basis of the letters in 'Rose' and triumphantly announced that the next child for Prem would be a boy. The more he thought over Jnana Sastry's predictive process, the more Prem was inclined to disbelieve his prophecy. But, then, what else could he believe, and how could he allay his anxiety till the child was actually born? He clung, therefore, to Jnana Sastry's word as his only hope. He shuddered to contemplate the event of the prediction proving false. He preferred not to think of such a contingency, in the belief (unjustly ascribed to the ostrich) that if one shut one's eyes to an impending danger it would not happen.

When the moment of delivery came, Prem was in a terrible state of mind. He stood leaning on one jamb of the door of the room in which his wife lay groaning, and watched the dreadful seconds drag on their torturous length. It seemed as if the child in the womb, with a grim sense of humour, was wilfully postponing its arrival into the world to test its parent's patience.

At last Sarojini's pangs and Prem Prasad's agonies were at an end. The child, announced the mid-wife, had come out of the womb.

It was then that Prem put, with an intrepedity that can be better imagined, the question with which this story began. He would not even wait for the new born to breathe for a moment, or to make its cry—the cry with which every child makes its first contact with the wide world and bemoans its release.

"What is it," Prem demanded, "girl or boy?"

"Girl," answered the nurse.

"Girl?" Prem felt for a moment as if a bullet were boring through his brain, and then for a while as if he had lost all senses. When he regained consciousness, his only feeling was a combination of bitter mortification and uncontrollable indignation—mortification at the shattering of all his hopes and yearnings and indignation at poor Jnana Sastry.

"The scoundrel," he fretted; "the arch-scoundrel who has swindled me of my five-rupee-note for his utterly false prediction. He has deceived me, the humbug, with his quotidian advertisements about having seen more horoscopes than all the astrologers put together. God alone knows how many like me have been taken in by his fantastic advertisements." And he started cursing newspapers, and the capitalist system which bred them and then the whole blooming universe, till he could find none else to curse. Then he returned to himself, in a mood of self-pity. Life seemed to him an unending sea of troubles, in which one had to steer his frail bark willy-nilly. "But," he wondered, "Who it is that determines the sexes of babes unborn? He must indeed be a peculiarly malignant villain, more cunning, more cruel than Mephistopheles himself."

For a few hours, therefore, the new arrival, by reason of its sex, drove Prem to the extremity of despair. But for a few hours only. Even the most sensitive of us gets a feeling of resignation after a time. "What can be avoided," we begin to ask with no less a man than Caesar, " whose end is purposed by the mighty Gods?' Fate, we facilely start arguing, must have been unkind to us. And there is no way out of it except the way of submission, of cheerful forbearance. There is, it must be admitted, this streak of fatalism in each one of us, to a lesser extent in the case of some (who are surely very exceptional people); to a greater extent in others (who are the large majority). Premprasad, who by nature belonged to the latter category, reconciled himself to a seventh daughter as to the inevitable. He well envisaged the long vista of troubles which stretched before him presenting a prospect of deepening and unrelieved gloom.

He realised full well that he must bring them up (all the seven girls) by hook or crook. But what then? What was he to do for their marriage and for their education? He could bear himself any amount of misery. But the poor girls, what had they done? Had they also offended the Gods, he wondered. Like a fox that is hunted and pursued till in sheer despair it turns at bay to face its pursuers, so was Prem Prasad, driven to desperation, turning at bay. The seventh girl, like the last straw, was breaking his back. He wanted to find out something that would help him to get rid of the bother altogether. He thought and thought. It became clear to him that the old methods of running into debt, or marrying the girls to widowers with one foot in the

grave, or committing suicide did not really solve the problem. You simply got rid of your life or the girls. But were they made happier? Not at all. Could they not be made happy? Was there no fourth solution, as there was a fourth dimension and as there were four castes? He intuitively felt there was a fourth way, which was also the best way. What it was he learnt in a strange and least anticipated manner.

* * * *

It was a glorious evening on the marina. There was a meeting on the beach, an extraordinary meeting, for unlike most meetings where stupid men addressed more stupid men, a woman, who had fiery eyes and whose hands moved violently as if against an unseen enemy, was exhorting men and women with passionate eloquence. She was denouncing the ridiculous and ancient myth that Eve was made out of the rib of Adam and exposing the other myth invented by men that women were inferior to them. She was a suffragist, but she repeatedly affirmed that she was fighting not for the vote but for redemption. She recalled the day when as a student she realised all on a sudden that only "equality" could save the world, that "liberty" and "fraternity" were only functions of "equality." And her gorge rose against Manu—she could not spare him, for had he not said that "women were unworthy of freedom?" Manu might be greater than Solon or Justinian, but he did not (perhaps could not) have the vision of Mill or of Lenin. He had raised the historic (and biological?) dependence of women to a law of God.

And thus she went on, the lady at the meeting, making her thundering periods reverberate in the hearts of her listeners. They were cheering her frequently, that crowd of admiring women and flabbergasted men. There was something irresitible in her voice, her manner and in those gleaming eyes, which stirred them to their depths. They seemed to be listening to something new, but not something remote. In fact, something very near to them, their inmost desire, which they had suppressed all their lives out of force of habit and out of fear. And now they felt like a prisoner who is released after a long term and takes some time to know that he is free.

Among those who had listened to the great suffragist's oratory was one to whom the gospel of women's emancipation came with peculiar meaningfulness. He had a strange feeling that men's freedom was an illusion so long as women were fundamentally unfree. He agreed with the fiery speaker of the evening that a race of intellectually hunch-backed women could not produce an upright race of men. The idea came to him that both men women were being dehumanised by a social system which was basically anti-social, that they were parts of a system whose ethics were dubious and whose achievements were shameful. As he pondered over what all the lady had said, he faintly realised that the society to whose conventions, half-truths and hypocritical codes of conduct he had paid homage was one whose sole purpose seemed to be to prevent the mass of men and women from leading a meaningful life surely, the only aim of thinking men and thinking women in such a society could be its destruction. And he felt glorious at the thought that in the struggle against a rotten society he could lead a regiment of seven girls.

He went home, with an inexpressible elation in his heart. He laughed at his own childish silliness, the way he had felt disappointed and indignant. Poor Jnana Sastry, "the man who had received testimonials from Rajas, Maharajas, Zemindars and Postmen." What a fool he must have been, Prem thought, to have worked himself to

such a fury over that astrologer's hoax. How was Jnana Sastry responsible, he argued, for his own gullibility? But he, Jnana Sastry, would go for good along with the rest of them—thieves, speculators, capitalists, money-lenders, C.I.D.s. and jails.

That night, standing at the door of the room in which his wife lay beside the new-born, Prem related to his equally good (or bad) half the message that had been revealed to him. And as he was telling the story of his intellectual revolution, the little one started crying, as though it could not bear listening to the gospel of freedom and yet be too young to join the fight for liberty. Who knows? There is, the poet says, infinite meaning in a child's cry.

☞ BEWARE OF SUMMER

Summer is taken to be the severest season of the year and people of all ranks try to go to hill stations and waste their money. In the present economical situation, we advise all to remain in their own places and protect against summer by using our renowned.

BRAHMI OIL

The Oil of | Purity Excellence and the Medieval Value — OIL OF BRAIN TONIC.

Our Brahmi Oil removes dandreeff, baldness, short sight, red eyes, inflammed eyes, frequent water flow from the eyes and improves eyesight and at the same time cools the brain. Can be used as an Hair Oil and as well a bathing Oil. Sweetly medicated. Many are using with perfect satisfaction.

Price 1 bot. As. 10 } Postage
,, 1 dozen Rs. 7 } Extra.

Sole Manufacturers :—
Assar. Chemical Works Bombay 9.

Presidency Agents.— } **GOPALJEE & Coy.,**
203, Govindappa Naicken St., Madras.

Branches:—
Kumbakonam and Madura.

FOR EVERYTHING ELECTRICAL

Apply to :

Telephone :—2228.

C. SHUNMUGAM & CO.,

Electrical Engineers and Contractors,

61, CHINA BAZAAR MADRAS.

Direct Importers of:—Hard drawn Bare Copper Wire.

All Electrical Accessories Both British and German, Etc.

FULMINATIONS OF THE FINANCE MEMBER

WHICH IS CAUCUS—THE CONGRESS OR THE IRRESPONSIBLE EXECUTIVE?

By D. R. Kousika

In one the most arrogant speeches ever delivered by the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council in the Legislative Assembly, Sir James Grigg the new Finance member referred to the 'benedictions' and achievements conferred upon India by his predecessors and indulged in a venomous attack on the main spokesmen of the opposition. When he rose to reply to the criticisms of his budget directed against him by his constitutional opponents in the Assembly, Sir James Grigg lost sight of the fact that only certain sections had a chance of bringing to his notice, the fantastic speculative provisions of his budget and the masses of the country were still without even that much of a 'pleasure' to rub him on his wrong side. The consternation of Sir James, if the predominant population of the country had a voice in the Assembly, cannot be imagined: he would probably have followed the example of the Ostrich by burying his head in the sand out of sheer fright.

Sir James Grigg said that Mr. Desai's analysis of the Budget "was not only malicious but was misleading and unfair."He accused Desai of having delivered a politieal propaganda speech like those Mr. Desai delivered on all occasions however appropriate or inappropriate." Sir James Grigg does not like politics and one should not mistake that his presence in India as the Treasurer of the Indian Nation has any politics about it! His aversion to politics is marked. Let us see what he talks and how he talks. He does not believe in planned economics, he has no use for economists and he does not wish to give this science any credit. He is not prepared to be overimpressed by "bewildering nostrums of modern economists" and he will not "pay too much attention to them until they sing in much more unison than they are doing now." He has scoffed at all attempts of economic planning, but he cannot bury his head in the sand and fail to notice the giant of Soviet planning which he has perforce to recognise. He admits that Soviet Russia has a planned economy, but with the characteristic prejudice of an imperialist, he refers to wholly irrelevant issues of God and woman. His conception of woman is still medieval and he is unable to divest himself of the idea that woman is a kind of personal private property. He can think of the freedom enjoyed by a Russian woman only in relation to a man stealing another's wife. Under the bourgeois regime to which Sir James Grigg happily belongs the moral delinquents in both the sexes are respectable society people whose position in the social ladder is dependent upon the extent of their private property. He knows this, but that is the morality of his class and he can't complain.

When he was pricked by Govind Vallabh Pant, he came out in his true colours. A man who said that he will not indulge in politics, expresses emphatically his political opinion in the

182224
-600 008

following words; "for the mild benevolent regime that now exists, we are to substitute the autocratic sway of a party caucus. Mr. Pant made a great play of agony he suffers at the thought of the slavery of his people. What his agony will be when real tyranny is instituted, I shudder to imagine! Mr. Pant will become a commissar under the new regime and he and his friends will be completely free while the rest of 350 millions will be under complete subjection. So now we know that this battle for freedom means freedom for the Pundit (Mr. Pant) and a small number of his friends and slavery for everybody else." He does not believe "India will ever forego chances which are now open to it to gradually realise self-government within the British Empire for the prospect of the autocracy of a Communist Congress regime." In the above statement Sir James Grigg as a true champion of British Imperialism has offered the olive branch of self-government within the British Empire in preference to a much dreaded autocracy of a communistic Congress regime. And he has no doubt about the response which India will give! He accused Desai of having assumed that he alone is entitled to speak for India as Sir Oracle; but here our benevolent Finance Member, has not only assumed to speak on behalf of his own coterie, but also of this country! He has outdone Desai in this matter and still he points a finger at Mr. Desai.

A close observation of Sir James Grigg's statement will reveal the hollowness of it and will give the lie direct to his fantastic claims to speak on behalf of India. His assertion that the present regime is mild and benevolent does not find favour with even his own countrymen (not belonging to his class) who happen to take special trouble of investigating it. We would like to remind him that the document produced by the India delegation sent by England will give some hints about the mildness and benevolence he speaks of. If he is not prepared to waste time in reading that document, he can as well consult his own brother-in-arms, Sir Henry Craik, about the benevolence he confers upon Indian people.

Sir James Grigg holds out the horrid spectre of communism and its worst features and warns Indians that under its regime only Mr. Pant and his friends will be free while the rest will be all slaves. A terrible plight indeed! Sir James Grigg cannot visualise any other system or alternative. The fight for freedom in India which is now directed against the class to which Sir James Grigg belongs because of their domination, need not end in the establishment of an autocratic dictatorship and those who have the strength to wrest freedom from the present masters will have strength enough to turn out an autocracy which may smuggle itself into power, supposing that the worst happens according to Sir James's prophesy. The political and economic freedom of India is not to be confined to a few belonging either to the class of Sir James, or of the opposition, but is intended essentially for the masses who will have the strength to choose their servants to run the administration of the country in their interest. Sir James and his people have denied this freedom to Indians and his pretensions of serving the interests of Indians will be easily scouted. Sir James Grigg woefully betrays his lack of political knowledge when he refers to communism and Congress and autocracy—the three different ingredients in Politics—in one and the same breadth.

So much about his politics. Regarding the proposals for the reductions of taxes and the necessity for providing employment for the unemployed, Sir James Grigg easily brushed aside all suggestions of Mr. Satyamurti and others and found no possibility of doing anything of that nature. He cannot be expected

to agree to the reduction of salaries of high placed officials, he will not conceive of the poor man's salt being left untaxed. So the levy of taxation should soar high and cannot come down. But he is prepared to offer you back a crore of rupees out of the several crores collected from you to improve your lot and to make you happy and contented!! His last stroke is the masterpiece of his performance. He made a sudden discovery and found out that the Congress party in the Asembly is a caucus. The Congress Party as it is, is the majority party of elected members on the suffrage allowed by Sir James Grigg's own kith and if an account is taken of the total number of the enfranchised elements of our people, the preponderating majority of them will be found to have supported the Congress Party members. Sir James Grigg cannot point at one man of this country who has helped him to come into the position in which he is now, and put the question to himself as to whether the order to which he belongs is the caucus or a party which has at least the semblance of having a determined following without power. The difference between Sir James and the Congress is that the caucus to which Sir James belongs has the power to maintain itself against the declared verdict of the Indian people while the latter has no such power.

SOLD EVERYWHERE

SOLD EVERYWHERE

Sole Importers: **GOPALJEE & Coy.,** 203, Govindappa Naicken St MADRAS.

Branches:—KUMBAKONAM & MADURA.

THE NATIONAL WEEK AND OUR DUTY

By
E. M. Sankaran
Namboodiripad

The National Week is very important in the history of Indian Nationalism. It has the happy memory of two heroic struggles which the masses of India launched to throw off the yoke of Imperialism. Both in 1921 and 1930, it generated such a tremendous mass energy that even the pillars of "the Empire on which the Sun never sets" began to tremble and realise that all was not well with this "brightest gem on the Crown of the Empire." One should have thought that such an occasion will be fully utilised by anybody who is interested in India's struggle for independence. But it is disappointing to note that the appeal of the Congress President to observe the Week has an air of unreality and shows the political bankruptcy (if not something worse) of those who control that national organisation today.

It is strange that the political organisation in India which fights for Independence does not take into consideration the present political situation in formulating a programme for the observance of the National Week. What is the political situation? Nobody will deny that it is a unique occasion pregnant with political potentialities. The haughty imperialist statesmen in London moulding Reforms' scheme to thrust it down the unwilling throats of India; the reactionary Princes demanding more 'safeguards' both against the 'arbitrary' actions of the Paramount Power up above as well as the 'important interference' of their own subjects down below; Governors going about their Provinces asking the *Zamindars* 'to organise' as against the rising tide of the mass discontent; a series of strikes and other forms of Labour discontent throughout India; the honest and intelligent members of the Congress Parliamentary Board asking "What next?" seeing the way in which their heroic speeches and resolutions are treated—is this not a sufficiently potential situation? Should those have no bearing on the National Week?

The Congress resolved to 'reject' the White Paper. It fought the Assembly Elections on this definite issue. Its representatives in the Assembly made fine speeches against the Report and said that they would reject it, though to get the support of less militant elements, they sufficiently watered down the spirit of the Rejection Resolution. The Congress President fixed up a day for demonstration against the Report. But those who were fondly hoping that the Parliamentary Board's election pledge of rejection would be the fore-runners of a gigantic campaign against it were sadly disappointed to see all that end in smoke. The masses know little or nothing about the Reforms; the Congress did nothing to remove this apathy. If the Congress executive were a bit imaginative or, to speak more correctly, if they were serious about rejection, they would have taken advantage of the National Week to create a mass awakening. To take an instance, the Trade Union Congress asked the Union affiliated to it to get signatures of labourers against the Reforms in the course of a week. The National Congress could have taken the hint and asked the Congress workers in the Provinces to get as many signatures as possible. The

fixing of a definite number of signature to be got in every province would have goaded the workers into action and an effective propaganda would have been carried on in the country-side. I don't for a moment suggest that this is the only course open to the Congress to initiate a campaign against the Reforms. But it is regrettable to note that, apart from the Assembly speeches and a few occasional statements to the Press, the Congress has done nothing to create a mass movement on this issue.

Then there are the other activities of the Congress Parliamentary Board. They wanted the release of Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose; they wanted the Indo-British pact to be scrapped; they wanted Railway administration to be radically reformed; they wanted the budget to be improved out of recognition; they wanted this, that and all. As I did not take the pains to catalogue all the 'victories' of the Congress Party in the Assembly, I cannot say how many times the Congress won "on the Assembly front in its fight against Imperialism." I hope some enthusiastic parliamentarian will make a list thereof and give it to the Press; and then the Congress can claim, next time before the Electorate, that it has fought the Government "most earnestly and most effectively."

But whither all this? Scientific tactics would have required the Congress Parliamentary Board and, if they are too preoccupied with parliamentary work, the Congress Working Committee to correlate this fight on the Assembly front with the country-side. A persistent agitation against the attitude of the Government in dealing with the Assembly would have been a good basis for mass awakening. It is disgraceful to note that the Congress Executive has done nothing of this kind. If the National Week is not utilised for such a necessary item of work, I don't know how the Congress is going to use the Parliamentary activity for the achievement of Purna Swaraj.

The complete silence in the Congress President's appeal on Parliamentary work and the way of correlating it to non-parliamentary work is the high water mark of the lack of political vision of the Congress leaders. It is very necessary that the rank and file of that organisation wake themselves up a bit and create such a public opinion that serious omission are not repeated at least in future.

WAR CLOUDS IN THE FAR EAST

CHINA—THE COCKPIT OF ASIA

By A. G. Venkatachary.

The strategic moves and counter-moves on the political chess-board of Europe almost monopolise world attention for the moment, but no one who thinks about the situation in the Far East can help feeling that it might be the scene of the next world war. The manoeuvring and deploying of forces thereabouts can hardly be looked at with equanimity.

In this article, the writer gives a graphic account of China, fathoms the currents and cross-currents of political monoeuvres of Imperialist powers and exposes ruthlessly their designs and schemes to swallow up China.

Imperialist Manoeuvres.

The Dutch East Indies and Uncle Sam's Philippines are covetously looked at by Japanese Imperialism, which has already wooed and won Siam'sallegiance.

China, no doubt, is Japan's continuous target of attack, but here she is not alone. The unfortunate and imbecile China has been a victim of aggression for long. For years British, American, French and Japanese imperialists have, under cover of the Nine Power Treaty, been at the profitable occupation of carving up China. But all these years they have not been merely at trade but busy establishing for themselves live bases to serve as eternal springs of profit. But ever since the depression had set in and Japan made her most successful bid for Manchukuo, there has been feverish excitement in other imperialist circles, which have lost no time in replenishing their resources to fight out their conflicting interests in the battleground of China. Strong preparations are apace and daily this struggle among them is becoming sharper and sharper. What are the forces here? What are the prospects? What does the perspective present?

What is the real situation in China? China has a population of over 400 millions—roughly a fourth of the world's population. She has an extensive market, the fringe of which has hardly been touched. In the whirlgigs of her politics, there is medieval feudalism of the Chinese war-lords, appearing side by side with advanced communism, especially in the West.

The President of the Chinese Republic, Chiang-Kai-Shek, is a product of Communist training, but having destroyed the idealistic republicanism of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's Kuomintang, now he struts about as a Christian war-lord intimately wooed by almost every western power anxious to hold her own in the Far East.

General Chiang is all in all there. He is the Commander-in-Chief, Chairman of the Kuomintang, the only real political party in China, President of the

Republic, and Chairman of the National Economic Council. A ruthless militarist he has modernised China's military methods and it is claimed that China will soon be about third on the list of air powers.

Not only that. He has adroitly manoeuvred enormous foreign capital into his domains and established China's industry and commerce. With the world's bankers at his heels he dreams of carrying out comprehensive ping its arms to a marked degree—and this, it is said by American inspiration, the rival Chinese Generals, with armies at their command and huge provinces to control, are frequently involved in intermittent civil wars. Their inevitable inability to compose their differences has resulted in two wide-spread menaces to China's integrity and independence. Communism has definitely established itself in seven important districts on the Kiangsi-Hunan border, across the

China.

educational, financial and rural schemes; but he has, as yet, failed to comprehend that in dealing with Imperialists, pastmasters in the art of exploitation, he is playing with fire—a consuming fire which may eventually envelop and devastate the entire extensive republic in the carnage of a world-war.

Internal Insecurity

While the Central Government of China has hardly a policy of its own and is engrossed for the moment in develo-

Kiangi-Fukien border, on the Kiangsi-Hunan-Hupet border and South Sze chuan, all in the Far West-almost impregnably situated among mountain fortresses. Not only is this young and vigorous Republic extending into some of the richest provinces of China, but compels wholehearted attention of the central and provincial governments. The other and perhaps the more dreadful menace is the manoeuvring of Imperialist nations to divide China practically among themselves.

American Interests.

Ever since the Washington Nine-Power Treaty which established the 'open door policy' into China, the latter has been the happy hunting ground of Big Business all the world over. But the U.S.A. as a creditor nation and the most highly industralised among them all just in the wake of the war, found it easy and highly profitable to exploit this vast and ever increasing market. American financiers and industrialists have all along been the hot favourites of Chiang Kai Shek, who, even recently, gave large contracts to the Curtiss-Wright Corporation and Pan-American Railways. Very recently, T. V. Soong, the immaculate diplomat, was able to secure 50,000,000 dollars wheat and cotton loan from America. But her great position, not only as a creditor country but a potential producer has been assailed, even brutally shaken, by the young and vigorous industrial Japan, who, by her close proximity and peculiar conditions has turned out to be the most serious rival to U.S.A. Not only that. The imperialist conditions of Japan and her militarist intentions have forced American statesmen to keep close watch over Alaska and Aleutian Islands, the Philippines and the Hawaii and the whole chain of American islands in the Pacific. Her concern for the Philippines and her future trade in the Far East have forced upon her the adoption of a very liberal and very friendly relations with Chiang-Kai-Shek and his war-lords. Till the depression set in, the U.S. Govt, with its invincible faith in the Dollar, was able to work up with it. Dollar was then more powerful than guns, for it commanded guns. Coming out of the throes of the depression, the U.S. has abandoned her policy of isolation and a small navy. She has come to realise that her stake abroad is the material basis on which her national interest in commercial promotion rested, and to safeguard that stake, to strengthen and increase it, the whole weight of her international activities have been brought to play.

The British Position.

And now to Britain. British Imperialism is interested and perhaps inextricably, in China for various reasons. From Shanghai in the east to Szechuan in the west, Britain is astride the whole prosrate body of China. It is in the Yangtsee valley that the greater part of British capital is invested. Further, Britain owns Hong Kong and therefore has great influence over the economic conditions of Canton and Eastern Kwantung. The railway from Canton to Hankow is financed by British Capital. This gives her, if need be, an alternative route to Yangtse from Hong Kong—a route much safer than by sea.

Further, it is stated, that Britain exercises a sort of overlordship over Tibet, where British maps are said to have created a boundary dispute between that country and Szechuan. Britain is interested in Tibet, and also in Chinese Turkestan to some extent, as they are adjacent to India which, at any cost, should be carefully kept as a close-preserve for British vested interests. So, naturally enough, great pressure, though unsuccessfully, was exerted on Dr. Sheldrake, a European convert to Islam to become the titular figure-head of Chinese Turkestan. Moreover, it is freely stated, that after the death of the pro-British Dalai Lama, Britain has been busy using Tibet, through a sort of regency, to snatch chestnuts for her from the flames that are enveloping China. Indian History bears ample testimony to the alarm felt among some of the Chinese that " eventually, Britain may be reluctantly compelled to annex Tibet in order to preserve law and order within it."

Chinese Fears

The fears of China are certainly not entirely unjustified. Britain's past is

an index to her future. China knows only too well, and that dearly to her cost, that Britain which deputed Lord Lytton to preside over the League commission to enquire into the Sino-Jap war and the aggressive annexation by the latter of Manchuria, had slept over the Report of the Commission which found Japan guilty. But she, wilfully neglected, in common with other European powers, the discharge of that great responsibility which the member of the League owed to China as per terms of the League Covenant. While Japan had the courage to leave the League and prepare for a further offensive, if necessary, Britain has been acting in a manner that does little credit to her status as a great power. So far she has not verbally recognised Manchukuo, but has had no scruples in dealing with Japan and Manchukuo politically and commercially, merely because it suits her present needs, and has in it the germs of an agreement that might eventually result in dividing the lion's share of world trade with that Far-Eastern power, Japan. Profits—Britain's sole aim in view—should be secured and sustained at all costs—even at the cost of ignoring all solemn treaties. Where is the sanctity of contracts of which the Anglo-Saxon is never tired of boasting that he is the ideal example for others to follow? These clever methods of diplomatic double-crossing at the sacrifice of international duty has certainly been acquired, from a deep and successful study of Niccolo Machiavelli's rules for success! Otherwise, how could any honest being on earth defend the action of John Bull in sending out a trade delegation to Japan, with the sole aim of scheming for mutual profits with that country?

The Rapproachment with Japan

Lord Barnley and his colleagues of the British Industrial Mission to the Far East, had succeeded in setting up committees in London and Tokio "to promote good economic relations between Britain and Japan and the securing of some orders for Britain from Manchukuo, with the hope of more to come."

The mission states the following as the possible ways of Anglo-Japanese industrial co-operation:

"Conscious directional control of exports.

A division of markets upon percentage or other quantitative basis.

Some similar action on a territorial basis.

Mutual action to develop, in co-operation, some of the more backward markets of the world.

Agreements as to level of export prices.

Rationalisation of production according to type or quality.

Joint manufacturing activities, all with a view to avoid trade war between the two countries."

Sir John Simon, in emphasing his regard for Japan in the course of a Commons speech made it amply plain that they had never pledged themselves "to use all our forces to preserve the integrity and political independence of China." This was said by the British Foreign Secretary in reply to Sir Stafford Cripps, who, while criticising British policy in the Far East, declared that Japan was converting Manchuria and Jehol into "a vast military base." Sir John's remarks had put China, according to a high placed Chinese official, in the "direst danger," while the war-lords of Tokyo were supremely delighted at this indirect encouragement given to them by a first class power with a real stake in the Far East. No doubt Great Britain had given no such treaty pledge to China, but, as Doctor Sze, China's Minister to the U.S. recently declared, "Great Britain had signed

the treaty of which the Covenant of the League of Nations was a part, and that by Article X of that Covenant, Great Britain, in common with the other members of the League, had undertaken not only to respect, but to preserve as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League, among which members China is included."

France's stake in the Far East

France has her own stake in the Far East. She is second to no other power in rapacity or extortion. Indo-China, her prized possession, is in itself a very rich territory and naturally enough opens into southern China. The railway from Haiphong (Indo-China) to Yunnanfu (the capital of the Chinese Province Yunnan) has French influence dominating it. As this is the only practical means of communication with this province, France dominates it economically and politi-cally. France also has a railway ranning from Indo-China into the Chinese province Kwangsi, east of Yunnan, up to Nanking, which has river communication with Canton. The other southern Province Kwangtung with its capital at Canton is shared in domination by Britain and France. Thus, France hopes, it is said, in the event of a conflict, to make her own Yunnan, Kwangsi and southern Kwangtung—" a juicy morsel of over a quarter of a million square miles."

The Exploits of Japanese Imperialism

And now about Japan, China's erstwhile and next-door foe. Japan, which has come late in the day, finds it extremely difficult to push on her imperialist ambitions. The problem of her surplus population is a very real and serious one, an outlet for which she has to find at any cost.

The doors of Australia, U. S. and Canada are by Statute closed to Japanese emigrants, and the only possible outlet for her virile population mulitplying at the rate of a million a year is the continent of Asia—the eastern provinces of the U.S.S.R. and the vast and as yet comparatively undeveloped and underpopulated China. A conflict with Red Russia, with the most thoroughly organised army, is for the moment unthinkable and hence Japanese Imperialism has directed her sole attention and aims on China. Even so recently as January last, she attacked Mongolia and why the imbroglio ended suddenly and without much flourish of trumpets is significant enough. Japan has Manchukuo under her thumb and her base of operations at present is Mongolia. But her agents have been continuously busy in Turkestan to nullify British machinations and establish Japanese suzerainty over there. Britain, with the fullest comprehension of not only this but the very sweeping nature of Japanese competition with her in the world market,has shaken the mains of feigned opposition and come forward holding the olive branch of mutuality in the exploitation of world markets. Japan has just left the League and put to practical test not only the professions of its member-states, but her own independent strength, if need be, to defy the rest of the world. While fully alive tó her commercial greatness and ability to compete successfully in any market, she has equally well realised that a devaluated yen and militarist bombasts would not be useful for all time. She has to face the possible active hostility of the gigantic United states of America on the one hand and the other great Republic the U.S.S.R., if a conflagration really sets in. She could ill afford to rest content with her growing prestige and economic power. She has denounced unceremoniously the Washington Naval Treaty and placed herself on a par with Britain and

the U.S.A. numerically and in tonnage. She has now accepted the proferred hand of British co-operation in the industrial sphere. She knows that this economic alliance, would naturally enough, lead to a political alliance of a lasting kind, an alliance which would be invaluable to her in case of a Pacific conflict with the U.S.A.

Sino-Jap Understanding.

But the situation, just now is neither so simple nor absolutely clear. Britain and France are in league with Moscow as against Germany and the three nations are not unfriendly with the U.S.A. The historic visit of Eden and the visit of Laval to Moscow, boomeranged with all the canons of world publicity has made Japan a bit more cautious about her next move. She has for some time past, made bold to make a direct approach to China, appealing to a panorama of sentiments and holding out veiled but firm threats.

Though the League had shattered China's hopes *vis-a-vis* the Sino-Jap War, subsequently it has taken a very solicitous attitute. A League Committee enquired into the economic situation of China and recommended a bold and forward scheme of development to be financed by member-states of the League. Chiang Kai-Shek has accepted tentatively this programme of work, but is quite in a fix as to whom he should borrow from. While France, Britain and Italy are ready to advance an international loan to China, the U.S.A. claims that she being China's first creditor, entrepreneur and friend for a very long time has the natural right to play the great role of China's creditor. Political and military reasons have encouraged Chiang Kai-Shek to pin his faith in Uncle Sam rather than in the dubious and double roles of European nations.

But Japan, with her new born solicitude for China, is anxious to be first in the creditor-field and she has made her intention unambiguously plain.

The terms Japan has offered for rapproachment with China are said to include the elimination of anti-Japanese propaganda in China, engagement of Japanese economic and military advisers displacing the present foreign incumbents, a huge loan to be raised by Japan for assisting China to get over her financial difficulties and highly embarassing foreign obligations.

The 'Shanghai Daily News', in a recent issue states that General Chiang-Kaishek has completed his preliminary talkes with Japanese diplomats. The paper asserts that while Chinese circles are quite optimistic about the possibility of Sino-Japanese co-operation, the Japanese think that the time is not quite ripe.

There are many contradictory reports about these proposals. Japan's evident anxiety to advance another huge loan to China while the Nisihara loan of 1918 still stands at a colossal figure, is quite significant. Japan is eager to forestall the proposed international loan; for, she has, as the *Manchester Guardian* says, more to gain than mere repayment with interest.

"Every pound Japan lends to China gives her added power over China, and if she could now advance another loan without the co-operation of the Western Powers, it would mean a great advance in her "Eastern" policy."

Nanking, naturally enough is reluctant to accept such terms. It would, any day, prefer an international loan. But, whether politics or profit would win, it is too early to predict.

Recently, adverting to world peace and Japan's anxiety to conclude a new naval treaty, Mr. Hirota said in the Japanese Diet:

"It is needless to say that good understanding and co-operation bet-

ween Japan and Great Britain constitutes a really important contribution to the peace of the world."

It is equally significant that while referring to China, he said: "Japan will be obliged to watch with concern the activities of the Communist party and army in China."

Continuing he said: "I fervently hope......that she (China) will awaken to a realisation of the whole situation of Eastern Asia and undertake to meet the genuine aspirations of our country. In view of our position as China's neighbour and the stabilising force in Eastern Asia, it is our policy to try to assist China in the attainment of this goal."

China could not easily brush aside international overtures. The help of the U.S.A. is almost indispensable, but she could ill afford to be permanently at daggers drawn with her imperialist neighbour.

China-the Pacific Battlefield?

Whatever the ultimate outcome of these rivalries, one thing is absolutely certain. All the important Powers of the World want to strengthen their stranglehold on China and wrest from her as much as economic power as possible. China utilises all the help they give to crush the growing Communist Power in the West, and in her anxiety to fight this menace, she unwittingly and unconsciously allows Imperialist Powers to gird up their loins for the redivision of China to redress the balance broken by Japan. This must inevitably lead to armed conflict between the opposing groups. It is significant that the Conservative Press in Great Britain has been urging, for some time past, that Britain should not stand in the way of Japanese Imperialism trying to expand its domains on the Asiatic continent. They have even gone a step further and stated that Japan should be abundantly encouraged in her Chinese designs if she only agrees to withdraw herself from the Indian textile market and make room for British monopoly. It is not improbable that some such agreement may shortly be arrived at. When that materialises, the U. S A. and France would inevitably get restive and the stage will be well set to fight it out on the Chinese soil. The two groups that might be arranged against each other appear at present to be as follows.

1. U. S. A. and China, and possibly Holland (with her interests in the East Indies threatened to be jeopardised by Japan)

2. Britain, France and Japan: the bonds uniting which (although there are contradictions between them) seem fairly strong.

The attitude of the U. S. S. R. would certainly be the deciding factor. What this great Republic would do is now problematical.

Anyhow, it is most certain that the gathering war clouds in the Far East might some day burst into an insensate carnage where millions of the poor would be reduced to the position of mere food for powder, in the fight between conflicting groups of High Finance and Big Business for profits. Will China wake up? Will Chiang Kai-Shek see through the game and rid his great country first and foremost of imperialist bandits, before battling with Communism? Or, would he succumb to their machinations and drift into desperation, war and chaos?

WORLD DAY BY DAY

INLAND.

March 11, Bellary—Seven persons were convicted for 1 year R. I. for looting a granary on account of famine.

Madras. — The United Nationalist Party in the Madras Legislative Council has decided to table a motion of 'No confidenance' in the ministry.

March 12, Anantapur.—In the By-election to the Madras Legislative Council for the Ananthapur rural constituency Mr. C. Obi Reddy, the Congress candidate was declared elected.

March 15, Madras.—The motion of No confidence in the ministers of the Madras Government was lost 42 voting for and 80 against.

March 18, Midnapore. — Nineteen political prisoners in the Midnapore Central Jail are being prosecuted under Sec. 52 of the Prison Act.

March 19, Karachi.—Forty persons have been killed and 97 injured as the result of the police firing on a turbulent Muslim crowd which was demonstrating in sympathy with the execution of Abdul Quayam, the murderer of Nathuram.

Bombay. — Nearly 600 workers of Prahlad Mills struck work demanding the immediate payment of their wages due.

March 22, New Delhi.—Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani, Congress member of the Assembly died at 6 o'clock this morning.

Bombay.—Meerut Day was observed.

March 23, Madras.—Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar was elected as the Dy. President of the Madras Legislative Council in place of Mr. Jagannadham who resigned.

March 25, Madras. — H. E. the Governor has accorded his assent to the Bill to amend the Madras Estates Land Act as resubmitted by the Legislative Council.

March 26, Ahmedabad.—Mr. Gandhi has decided to undertake an All-India tour in connection with the revival of village industries.

Lahore.—The picketing students of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute were arrested today. The strike of the students continues.

March 28, Lahore. — The appeal preferred by Dr. Satyapal was rejected by Justice Currie in the Lahore High Court this morning.

March 29, New Delhi.—On the report of the Enquiry Commission, the election of Munshi Iswar Saran to the Assembly has been declared invalid.

April 1, Bombay.—Mr. K. F. Nariman, President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was declared elected Mayor of Bombay.

April 3, Calcutta.—Justices Lort Williams and Jack reduced the sentences passed on Nityananda Chowdhry for sedition from four months to fourteen days.

April 4, New Delhi.—For reasons of health Dr. M. A. Ansari has tendered his resignation from the Presidentship of the Congress Parliamentary Board.

Calcutta.—Justice Lort Williams and Jack set aside the conviction for 3 years R. I. of Hironmoy Bhowmick.

April 6, New Delhi.—The Legislative Assembly by 64 votes to 41 rejected Sir James Grigg's amendment to the Finance Bill restoring Salt duty thereby refusing to accept the Viceroy's recommendation to pass the Finance Bill in its original form.

April 10, Madras.—Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmipathy has been declared elected to the Madras Legislative Council.

FOREIGN.

March 11, Athens.—The Greek Revolt is being suppressed and the Rebel forces have crossed the frontier.

London.—In the house of Commons, the labour Party's censure motion on the Govt's Defence policy was defeated by 424 votes to 79.

March 14, Vienna. Dr. Rintilen was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was an ex-minister of Austria and the leader of the Nazis.

March 15, London.—A deputation of the India League waited on Mr. Lansbury and pressed for an amendment specifically pledging Dominion Status in terms of the Balfour declaration of 1926.

March 18, Berlin.—A momentous German decision to re-introduce general comuplsory military service and form a peace army of 12 army corps of 36 divisions has been announced in a proclamation by Herr. Hitler.

Bagdad.—The Iraq Cabinet formed only a fortnight ago resigned owing to serious tribal troubles in the middle of Euphrates Area.

March 16, Brussels.—The Belgian Government has resigned.

March 20, Budapest.—Eleven were killed in an election riot at Eudrod on the military opening fire.

March 22, Paris.—The chamber by a huge majority of 555 votes to 9 ratified the Franco—Italian agreement.

March 23, Washington.—President Roosevelt has approved of the recently drafted constitution for the Philippines.

March 25, Brussels.—M. Vanzeeland Vice-Governor of the National Bank has formed a National Government in Belgium.

March 28, Cape Town. — The Nationalist opposition in the Assembly of which Dr. Malan is the head walked out of the Chamber today when the Jubilee address to the king came up for consideration.

Warsan.—The Polish Cabinet has resigned, The New Premier is Colonel Wabry Salwik who has formed the Government.

London.—Mr. De Valera declined the invitation to attend the Silver Jubilee celebrations.

March 29, Madrid. — Sn. Lirroux tendered resignation of his Cabinet.

March 31, Athens. — The Court martial engaged in trying a member of officers and others involved in the rebellion has sentenced the accused including Colonel Saraphis to life imprisonment. Ten others were awarded 20 years imprisonment.

April 3, Vienna.—Austria has decided to ask the great powers permission to reintroduce conscription.

April 4, London.—Two women refugees from Germany committed suicide in their flat in London.

April 5, Hongkong.—The Soviet Red army of China advanced within 16 miles of Kweiyang. It is officially admitted that 3000 Government troops were killed.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Soviet and Monarchy.

"Is the soviet abandoning all its theories about World Revolution and communism? Is it coqueting with Imperialism and capitalism, as Trostsky has been saying ever since he was exiled from Russia? Has the World Revolution by which Lenin swore, been given up?" These and similar questions must have cropped up in the minds of many a socialist and communist when they read the news that a communist commissar, on a great public occasion proposed the toast of King George of England. Now there are some who may come out again with the theory that socialism cannot be built in one country alone. That, however, is not our view. We do not believe, indeed, that the Soviet, like the king, "can do no wrong." But all those who believe that the Soviet is the father land of socialism need not be afraid that the Soviet is abandoning its declared international priciples. It must be realised first and foremost that if a war now interferes with the Soviet's programme of Socialist construction, foundations of socialism will be shaken. Some will say, "Think of a leading official of an avowedly proletarian regime proposing the toast of the ceremonial head of a state, who is at best a comfortable relic of medievalism and at the worst the titular sovereign, albeit constitutional, of the most powerful and organised Imperialist regime in the world! By proposing such a toast, the Soviet in its pursuit after British friendship has betrayed communism and the cause of the international working class." Of course Britain is making coquetish overutures to Russia and Russia warmly hugs Britain.

The contradictions between the imperialist countries are leading them to war and the only thing that is restraining them from having recourse to it, is the fear that it might invariably lead to civil war and revolution. Such a culmination is not, for instance, impossible in Austria, Germany or Poland if any of these countries is involved in a war. And in the case of Britain, France and Italy the fear is more one of degrees than of kind. And in their case, there is in addition the ever present danger of revolt in the colonies. The Soviet has absolutely no doubt that Peace under the present Imperialist regime of the world is as precarious as it is illusory. But the Soviet wants to develop peacefully. This must have led the Soviet to propose a toast if by that, it could secure the friendship of Britain. It might have humoured the British people; but it wouldn't have deceived them. The British lion knows quite well what the Russian bear is after. But just now it suits them to hug each other although each for its own end. One would be curious to know how Britain is going to propose a toast—to Soviet or to communism?

City By-election.

We heartily congratulate Mrs. Lakshmipathy on her election to the Madras Legislative Council from the City of Madras in this By-election. Mrs. Lakshmipathy has a distinguished record of service and her sterling patriotism and loyalty for the country have been the unique features all through her public life.

One would have wished that she had been returned unopposed. But the decaying Justice Party drunken with the power of its own insolence wanted to eat the humble pie and set up a candidate to oppose her. The

result was a foregone conclusion. The Justice candidate was routed.

This defeat is the third of its kind for the party. With all this the leaders of the party do not stop bragging. To them defeat is a victory and the public discredit is a passport to official favours. So long as the Party leaders have a programme of buttressing the bureaucracy their patrons will some how manage to keep them in power; but the party, as a party of the people, has forfeited its confidence among the public. It is long time that it is wound up and the worthless caucus ceases to function.

We also wish to warn the congress and Mrs. Lakshmipathy not to be elated at this 'success'. The main opponent still remains to be conquered and all energies of the Nation should be directed against that opponent. The country should be freed from political subjection and foreign domination. These councils and Assemblies are merely toys offered to us to play with. We should not exaggerate their importance. We hope Mrs. Lakshmipathy realising this, will also engage herself in other dynamic movements that will bring real freedom to our Nation.

The Karachi incident.

The communique issued by the Bombay Government setting forth the circumstances that led to the firing at Karachi on the date of the execution of Abdul Qayam, the murderer of Nathuram, does not impress the public that firing was inevitable and unavoidable. The authorities responsible for the disposal of the dead body should have taken enough precaution against the crowd collecting near the burial ground and ought not to have allowed the relatives to delay the burial unnecessarily. The crowd of course came from the city and if all the routes lead ing from the city to the burial ground were properly guarded, we are sure this tragedy would not have happened.

In a country like India where religious fanaticism is allowed to be nurtured and exploited for various reasons, nothing better could be expected. The masses are doped with too much of religion, and their want of culture and economic betterment, make them run at each other's throat in the name of religion. The responsibility to remove this gross prejudice lies on the shoulders of enlightened leaders.

If India were a free country such incidents would be unthinkable as ignorance and prejudice will be rooted out by mass propaganda and if it were any other country those who were responsible for the firing would have been impeached and made to answer for their actions.

The Finance Bill.

In the course of the discussion of the Finance Bill for nearly three months, The Legislative Assembly made certain cuts in the proposals of taxation and expenditure and gave valuable suggestions to the government. The much 'dreaded' Congress Party in its constitutional opposition offered its co-operation and suggestions which the Government did not find worth while to accept. When closure was applied, the Assembly refused to give permission and the discussion of the Finance Bill continued. Meanwhile the Governor-General, the custodian of India's peace, tranquillity and good government issued ordinances to collect salt tax and other taxes, postal charges etc. The discussion of the Finance Bill merrily went on for some time more ending in more 'defeats' to the Government. Out came our Finance Member with a proposal to refer back the Bill to the Governor General. He couldn't stand any nonsense of the Assembly and was almost tired of shouting out 'Ayes' in face of the drowning voices of 'Noes.' He brought the Bill back with the message of the Governor-General that all the taxes pro-

posed in the Bill are 'in the interest of India" and asked the Assembly to pass the Bill. However the Assembly took a different view and all the bad boys of this institution wanted the salt duty to be reduced. They refused to restore the cut on the salt duty.

This finished the farce. The Finance Member put the Bill in his pocket, got it certified by the Governor-General and took it to the more accomodating bridegroom, the Council of State to woo it.

The Finance Bill thus will become the law of the land. So many of our leaders have waxed eloquent, fought courageously with the weapon of words, exposed the sham of power they possess in the Assembly, and have come back tot heir respective abodes. We will find them very shortly exploding at public meetings with all the enthusiasm of their bloated victories. They have let out some steam in the Assembly and there is no harm in letting out some more in the meetings. This is not going to ruffle our rulers a bit. They look at us with cynical pleasure and Sir Samuel House will once more say, "The dogs bark and the caravan passes." When will India show that she will not put up with this kind of monkeying any longer?

182724

JUST PUBLISHED.

SPARKS FROM OUR LIFE

By H. D. Rajah.

As. 4.

It is a collection of short stories written on close observation of men and matters. The pages bristle with the cry for the establishment of a new social order. The themes of the stories are brilliantly conceived and remarkably portrayed.

SEND FOR A COPY AT ONCE.

THE NATIONAL LITERATURE PUBLISHING CO., LTD.,

3, Kondi Chetty Street, Madras.

WHAT AND WHOM DO WE STAND FOR?

We stand for a Society in which only those who work—with their brains or hands, in the fields or the factories—shall enjoy the fruits of their labour.

We do not want a Society in which a few oppress and exploit the many. We do not want a Society of landlords and capitalists and Princes.

We stand for a scientifically ordered and planned society, with social welfare as its basic objective, free from exploitation, and greed, oppression and ignorance, poverty and unemployment, social and economic injustice, and inequality.

We stand for the abolition of private ownership of productive wealth—lands, forests, mines, mills, banks etc. We want these to be owned by the whole people and worked entirely for their benefit. Wealth is socially created and must be socially owned and consumed.

We stand for the poor, the exploited, the downtrodden—the rackrented peasant, the peasant who groans under debts, the worker who scarcely gets enough to live, the white-collar slaves—the *babus*.

We stand for bread for all, for comfort, for a rising standard of living.

We wish that the poorest of the poor in the country should have enough to live decently, a clean and cultured home, clothes, books, means of amusement and recreation.

We wish that every adult should find gainful occupation or maintenance for himself; every child should be able to get full education; social amenities should be equally available to every one.

To make all this possible, we want freedom of India from British domination and the transference of power to the Indian masses.

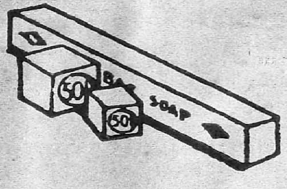
ALL INDIA CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY.

501 Soap

the most economical washing soap in India

Saves money
—by lasting longer

Saves clothes
—by washing more gently



TOMCO —is the mark of the Tata Oil Mills Co., Ltd., makers of '501' and other good soaps. Beware of imitations of this trade mark and of the name '501'.

TOMCO SALES DEPARTMENT, P. O. BOX 31. MADRAS.

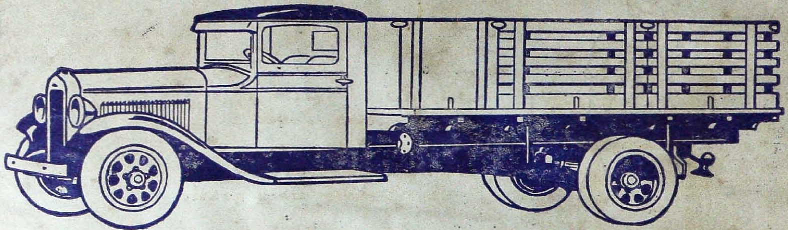
Registered No. 3099

REO

GIVES YOU

MORE TRUCK VALUE

FOR YOUR MONEY



ILLUSTRATED—THE 1½—2½ TON 10,500 LBS. GROSS SPEEDWAGON.

Check the present line of Reo Trucks against anything in the market. You will find Reo uses "GOLD CROWN ENGINES"—engines that deliver real truck performance. You will find truck frames, truck axles, truck transmissions, truck tyres, truck brakes—not a mere assembly of passenger car parts.

THEN COMPARE REO'S NEW LOW PRICES WITH ALL OTHERS

Certainly it is unnecessary to pay more than the price of a Reo. And, in the opinion of Shrewd buyer, it is unwise to pay less! Reo Speed wagons and trucks range from 3/4 to 6 tons.

WRITE TODAY FOR ILLUSTRATED FOLDER & SPECIFICATIONS.

RANE (MADRAS) LIMITED,

MOUNT ROAD : : MADRAS.

Printed by V. Krishnaswami Iyengar, at the B. N. PRESS, Mount Road, and Published by D. V. NATHAN, at 3, Kondi Chetty Street, Madras.